

175 claimants to the succession, Kumbomba and Chiwalo. Their
 623 claims were really very equal and His Majesty's Commissioner
 643 (April 1906) called in Kumbomba and the most important
 648 headmen and decided the succession by their vote.¹ District
 Books have many entries dating before 1912 showing that the
 Administration did not consider chiefs and village headmen
 insignificant.

The appointment of village headmen needed the approval
 of the Provincial Commissioner, but presumably the recommendation
 came from the District Resident. It is reasonable to suppose
 that the District Resident in turn had discussed appointments
 with the principal headmen. Whatever the mechanics of
 the appointment, however, the outcome was that most village
 headmen who held positions of prestige in the indigenous system
 of ranking became village headmen under the Ordinance.

The District Administration (Natives) Ordinance thus made
 official the unofficial relationship which had previously existed
 between the Administration and the chiefs and the village
 headmen. The traditional relationship of chief to village head-
 man and village headman to villagers, however, became suffused
 with a new significance. These relationships had become part
 and parcel of the extensive administrative organization of the
 British Empire.

THE MODERN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE²

648 The Native Authority Ordinance of 1913 and the Native
 642 Court's Ordinance provide the legislative framework for the
 643 modern administrative system. Under Section 23(e) of the
 Native Authority Ordinance, the rules, orders, proclamations,
 notices and appointments made under the District Administration
 (Natives) Ordinance were not repealed. The duties which
 had so long been incumbent upon chiefs and village headmen,
 therefore, continued unaffected.

The chief, however, was set up at the centre of a bureaucracy
 and given autonomy in a number of directions. The Native
 Court's Ordinance gave him legal powers to inflict punishment
 on his subjects; the treasury under his authority could raise

² I have dealt in some detail with the position of the chief in the modern
 situation in my article "Political Organization of the Yao of Southern Nyan-
 land".

The Historical Background to the Modern Situation 45

funds and could spend them. The chief could make rules and regulations in specific matters. 698
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Burnt-brick court houses, burnt-brick offices and clinics have appeared at the traditional headquarters of the chiefs. A court clerk collects court fees and fines, issues receipts and records the cases in a register. A tax clerk issues licences and collects taxes, receives correspondence addressed to the chief and writes the chief's replies. In addition, there are other functionaries—community workers, forest guards, agricultural demonstrators, sanitary inspectors, market clerks, well inspectors and so on. 693

In other words, the position of the chief is becoming more and more that of an administrative head-of-department.¹ His position vis-à-vis his subjects is coloured by this. The chief is at once the people's representative to the Administration and the Administration's representative to them.

¹ Compare Burnet's statement about the Nigeri: 'the great warrior chief has become in effect the only member of the Administration who never goes home to Britain on leave'. Burnet, J. A., *Politics in a Changing Society*, 170.

563 groups present a problem to be considered but for the main purposes of this paper a brief comment is sufficient.

The Njanga people who were allowed to remain in the area, continued to live in their village communities in much the same way as the Yao did. In fact the Njanga and the Nguni are so similar in culture to the Yao, that it was possible for them to fit into the Yao social structure fairly easily. For example, in Mpona's area Mbande and Mbande are recognized by the local Yao sub-chief as important groupings since they were the indigenous chiefs in the area before the Yao came in as invaders. Both, for example, have adopted the Yao practice of wearing a red band round the head to indicate rank. Both have the right to conduct the Yao indigenous initiation ceremonies. In one meeting I attended Mbande was allowed to sit in a chair while the only other person to do so was Mpona himself. This is a mark of honor since no commoner is allowed to sit in a chair in the presence of the chief.

In the same way the Nguni immigrants have come in small groups of married kin and have settled either in families alone or set up small families in close vicinity to kinmen. Their landmen in turn have been absorbed into the general political structure though they have their own language and distinguishing cultural traits. Thus some Nguni initiate their boys according to their own custom, though others will allow their boys

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V. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- 172 177 The accompanying diagram is designed to summarize the main types of interaction that take place in the political structure of the three areas. Interaction between the social personalities in the political structure can be said to take place in reference to certain sets of values. One set of values is that which the Yao recognize and believe in relating to the White people. Another set of values they recognize and subscribe to as their own. A third may interact with a village headman because he has broken a regulation which

[Text CONTINUED BOTTOM OF P. 151B]

563 to be initiated according to the Yao custom (Spenda). In general, the Nguo headmen are village headmen in the same way as the Yao are and they follow the same pattern in political behavior.

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621 At the moment, throughout the area, the various tribal groups live in kinship clusters so that under one Yao administrative headman there may be two or three unrelated Yao kin-groups and possibly one or two Nguo groups living quite separately. Though the population in the area as a whole is mixed, usually the village groups are racially homogeneous. So far little inter-marriage has taken place. I shall not here analyze this situation, though it is politically important. In many ways the Nguo immigrants are more progressive than the Yao. Most Yao in this area are professed Muslims and do not attend the local schools which are Christian. However, the missions have been more successful among the Nguo and they are becoming more educated and advanced. A good proportion of the Government posts in the area is filled by Nguo for this reason. This is most significant in the context of the general situation as will become apparent in the description below. For the rest of the paper I shall consider the political structure as I see it, in terms of the social permeability in the structure, and the presence of these non-Yao groups is implicit in the rest of this analysis.

V. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

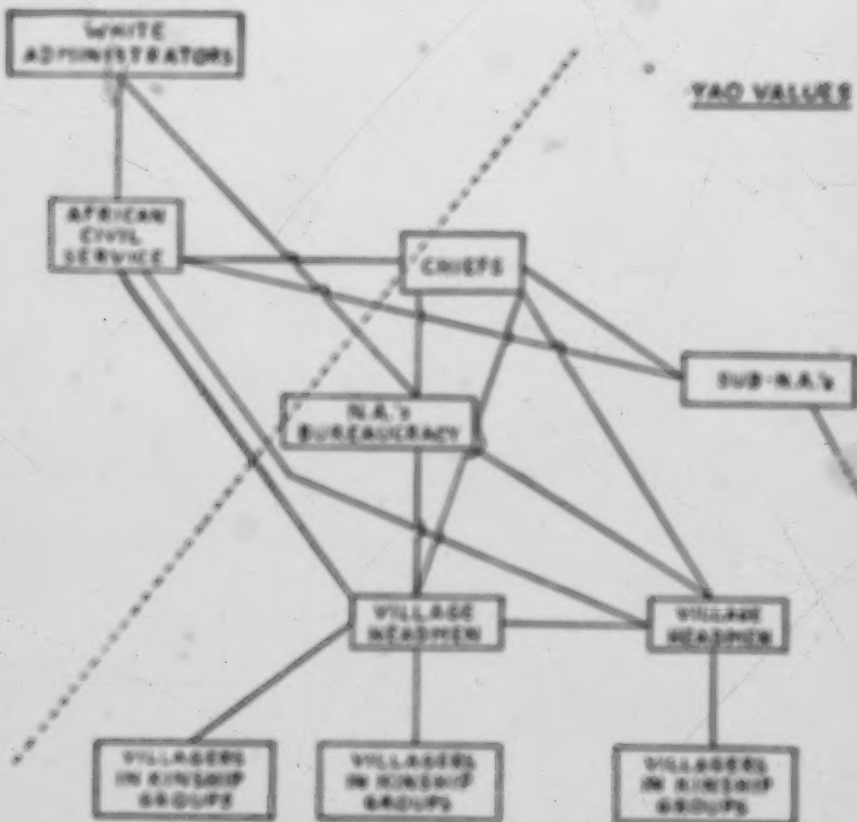
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177 The Administration has persuaded the chief to pass and the full significance of which lies in a system of European values. These systems of values are foreign to each other in many features. Opposition between the two groups, White and Black, must arise if their behavior is affected by different sets of values. The Yao, for example, believe that some doubts are caused by anxiety and claim the right to take positive measures against the enemies. The Whites do not believe in this and prevent positive action against people

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Structure of Political Organization in Yao Area

WHITE VALUES

YAO VALUES



(Only the main lines of interaction are included in this diagram.)

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who are, in these, involved. The diagram has been divided obliquely to represent these two systems or fields of values. The division of the diagram into two parts depicts a major rift in local political relationships. While some political relationships, as say between village headmen, do not directly involve this cleavage, in most, as say the chief with his subjects, though the Whites are not present in person, they are there in the context of the interaction. This will become evident as the analysis proceeds, but at this point it is sufficient to observe that the Whites and the White system of values are an integral part of the modern Taa political organization.

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In addition to this, there is a hierarchy of status roughly conforming to the placing of the social personalities in the diagram, i.e., the White Administrator is of higher status than the African Civil Service which is roughly on the same level as the chief, but both are on a higher status than the Native Authority's chief and officials are. The lines represent the main direction of interaction.

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1. The White Administrator and the African Civil Service

By the White Administrator I mean the District Commissioner, Agricultural Officers and other Government officials who come into contact with the African population, particularly in the rural areas. The social distance between a White person in general and the African is much larger than that between, say, an African chief and his common subject. Social interaction on an intimate basis cannot take place between chief and Administrator easily because their relationship is dominated by the power of all South African institutions, where Whites do not interact intimately with Blacks. I have already noted that not many Europeans come into the area. Those Whites that do come into the area are immediately accorded the status of an Administrative Officer and are apt to be thought of as such, though they may not be so. The Taa clearly recognizes that the Labour Inspector is a different sort of person from the Missionary and both differ from District Commissioners, but

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with the kin group are usually settled by the arbitration of a local village headman or the chief. What decides whether a case is tried by a village headman or a chief seems to depend largely on the seriousness of the case and hence the amount of compensation that is involved. A quarrel between a village headman and his heir for example was settled by a local village headman, the compensation in this case being a matter of 2/- and a gun of iron. More serious cases are taken to the chief for arbitration and whether the case are then tried in the court or not depends on the type of case. Certain cases are known to conflict with the system of values of the Whites. They are tried by the same court system and arbitrated in by the same chief who preside in the court of the Native Courts Conference, but they are handled by an entirely different procedure. Thus, a case involving the accusation of sorcery or the breach of a taboo leading to death and compensation claims is arbitrated on by the chief sitting in terms of the indigenous value system. These cases take place outside the court-house, usually at the chief's hut, and are not recorded as a court case at all. The chief awards compensation in the same way but it is not recorded as in ordinary court cases.

Cases which are known not to conflict with White values are tried in the court-house if compensation of some value is involved. If we exclude from consideration the cases following a breach of the N.A.'s regulations on food then the recorded court cases are almost entirely about compensation for robbery, petty theft and assaults. Here the chief and court system function as legal provisions acting in accordance to a set
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VI. GENERAL SUMMARY

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I have tried to describe the political structure of the Yao in Lamelara, Engege and Nyandak sub-area in terms of the interaction of social provisions in a structure loosely connected in the diagram. The aspect of the social personality provided in an situation of social interaction
[Text continues bottom OF P-158B]

- (9) of White when white students with their own
 information say that the position of the village
 teachers is correct with that of the child's
 (10) going progressively wider. They estimate
 that one was told by the village teachers as
 (11) new when in the child's room. Whether this is a
 true or not is difficult to determine. The fact
 that there is some mention in the guilty party is
 with the composition of the child in the child's
 room, probably pays a part. The composition
 would be included in the Great One book
 and the child's exposure to any one who
 would read is a part. The child sometimes
 appears the village teachers against individual
 subjects. A man was asked to pay a composition
 would appear like by a village teacher.
 The village teachers advised the man in the
 child who said to the man: "In your letter de-
 clared the rules of the village teachers I mean
 that you have looked me, the District Commis-
 sioner and the Governor". He is quoted that
 is a tendency for the moral authority in a
 thoughtful and the child sometimes in
 relationship in the White Administration is
 not in complete the position of American
 one to teacher. As a secondary tendency of
 a village teacher the child who had supplied
 as complete teacher said: "The man in
 town whom by me and the Governor agree
 with me". Clearly in the common situation
 the child was treated against the subject, not
 as part of the White Administration. It was to
 prove in the political situation in establish a
 distance over the teacher, that he could
 have been established before the White man was
 (see p. 120).

VI. General Summary

- (12) depends on the field of vision in which the
 (13) is taking place. To illustrate this with
 a simple example, when the man thought
 would a boy of 12, from each grade went
 in the one when the established child had been
 taken from the institution, they were in line a

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representative of the chief, acting as he was in terms of a system of values indigenous to the Yao. If during the same trip he informed the villagers that the village roads should be cleared, to the people he would appear as a representative of the chief who is representative of the Administration and is acting according to a value held by the Whites and embodied in a regulation governing the clearing of village roads. Two sets of values intermingled in daily life and social personalities are seen first in this guise and then in that depending on the particular institutional situation. Thus the chief, when he is addressing villagers and village headmen, sees himself opposed to them and shows himself to the people as a representative of the White system of values and emphasizes his bonds with the District Commissioner and the Governor. Talking to the Agricultural Officer he sees himself opposed to the White system of values and opposes contour ridging, saying that unlike the traditional system of agriculture it encourages white men in the garden.

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At the same time the White value system, symbolized to the Africans mainly by the Administration, is becoming an integrating force in their life. The criterion of the White system of values emphasizes the unity of their race. Formerly hostile, chiefs are now living in peace under the

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Administration. Africans are becoming increasingly aware of their position in the British Empire and in the world in general. The rise of labour migrants to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have emphasized this since Yao from formerly hostile groups, Nguni and Ndebele alike, were all classified as "Nyasaland boys" and in the situation of being amongst vastly different tribes as these labour migrants they have begun to see themselves as a united people. Also during the war there was a high recruitment rate in Nyasaland and since the 1st and 2nd K.A.F. are recruited from Nyasaland, this heightened the feeling of belonging to a new political entity—Nyasaland. The new feeling of unity of Nyasaland people is felt most strongly by the younger people who have been out to work and who have been in the army. This feeling is also strong among the more educated who now read African newspapers from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in which columns are set aside for "Nyasaland News". Symptomatic of this is the development of consciousness of a north-political nature especially among the more educated people—the clubs and the teachers—organizations which cut right across the old tribal barriers, and which are serving to integrate the whole of the African population into a unified political body.